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" But, what will be the consequences to the world, and to England in particular, if the proclaiming
" Buonaparté Emperor should be attended with success? And is it to Englishmen a subject of sor-
" row or of joy? To every republican in England, to every citizen of the world, to every puritan, to
" every King-killer, it is a subject of grief the most poignant: what it is to men of a different sort
" need not to be described. For my part, I most heartily rejoice at the prospect of seeing Buona-
" parté Emperor or King."—Political Register, May 22, 1802. Vol. I. p. 605.

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TO MR. LIVINGSTON,
AMERICAN MINISTER AT PARIS.

SIR,—Your letter, of the 26th of March last, being an answer to a circular note, received by you and the other foreign ministers at Paris, from M. Talleyrand, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, demanded some particular observation from the English Secretary of State; and, he having left that duty unperformed, I think right to say, upon the subject, that which he certainly ought to have said.—In alluding, Sir, to the correspondence of Mr. Drake, you tell M. Talleyrand, that it was carried on with traitors, " for objects which all civilized nations must regard with horror: and that " horror," say you, " must be redoubled " when we see, that it is a minister that thus " prostitutes his sacred character. When a " subaltern agent commits a base or atrocious act, it may be supposed, that he is " influenced by personal interest, but the " actions of a minister are generally attributed to the government he represents; " and, even when he acts against his orders, " (which, I hope, is the case in this instance) " his conduct is so much identified with his " government, that such acts tend to overturn social order, and to bring back nations " to barbarism."—You then conclude with begging M. Talleyrand, " to offer to " the First Consul, in the name of your government, the most sincere felicitations " for having happily escaped the attempts " of his enemies, directed not only against " his life, but against an object more dear to " his heart, the happiness of the nation, of " which he is the chief."—Now, Sir, without any attempt, on my part, to defend the conduct of Mr. Drake, suffer me to inquire, what has been the conduct of America, towards foreign ministers, who have, while residing at the court of the United States, acted in a manner similar to Mr. Drake, and, indeed, much more hostilely, towards a state in peace and amity with the United States. But, first, give me leave to congratulate both you and your country on the great change, which a voyage to Europe

seems to have wrought in your mind with respect to monarchical governments. You and I can remember the time, Sir, when your party in America, entertained such an abhorrence for governments of this sort, that, one of the principal objections, which they urged against the treaty with England, was, that it was the means of " forming a " connexion with a monarch, and of introducing the fashions, forms, and precedents " of monarchical governments, which introduction had ever accelerated the destruction of republics; and, further, that, " if foreign connexions were to be formed, " they ought to be made with nations, whose " influence and example would not poison the " fountain of liberty, and circulate the deleterious streams to the destruction of the " rich harvest of revolution. France is our " natural ally; she has a government congenial with our own; and, there can be " no hazard of introducing from her principles and practices repugnant to republican " freedom." I sincerely congratulate you upon the change, and am only sorry, for your country's sake, that this change did not take place in favour of those Bourbons, to whom America used to profess such an abundance of gratitude.—But, to the subject more immediately before us. And, here, Sir, let me ask whether you have not forgotten the conspiracy, which was hatched in the United States, against his Majesty's government in the Province of Canada? You surely must have lost all memory of that transaction, and of the place where, and the persons by whom, it was carried on; or, you will excuse me for expressing my utter astonishment, that you should, in the face of all Europe, have been so loud and so severe in your condemnation of the correspondence of Mr. Drake.—On the 7th of July, 1797, DAVID M'LANE, a native, and then a subject, of the United States, was tried at the city of Quebec, where he was soon afterwards executed, for high treason against his Majesty, the King of Great Britain. During that trial, it was clearly proved, that a conspiracy, in which M'Lane was a principal

agent, had been formed at Philadelphia, the seat of the American government; that the French minister, ANAT, and the Spanish minister, DON YRULO, were the promoters of that conspiracy; and that the object of it was "to free the people of Canada from the tyranny of England, and to push the British government from the Continent of America;" and, amongst the means to be used, were "the administering of laudanum to the troops, and, for the sake of posterity, to kill all persons who might attempt to resist."—Now, Sir, can you find any thing in the conduct of Mr. Drake half so "atrocious" as this? Does Mr. Drake propose poisoning and massacre? And, Sir, did the government of your country, then at perfect peace with Great Britain, ever discover.... I will not say, symptoms of horror.... did it ever discover a sign of resentment? Did it ever publicly show any mark of disapprobation, with regard to the conduct of the French, or the Spanish minister? Never; though it is well known, that the evidence, taken upon the trial above referred to, was published in all the American papers, and that an account of the whole matter was duly made known to the President and his council. Where, then, are we to look, Sir, for the origin of those feelings of "horror," which you now express at the conduct of Mr. Drake? Do you refer us to the people of America? Doubtless many of them did feel, and did most decidedly express, their abhorrence of all the parties concerned in the conspiracy against the government and people of Canada; but, Sir, amongst the republicans, male or female, this was by no means the case. The French minister soon after left the country; but, the Spanish minister has remained to this hour; and, if his having married the daughter of one of your governors be any mark whereby to judge of the estimation in which he is held, his bloody-minded project has most assuredly excited against him no very great degree of horror or of hatred.—The correspondence of Mr. Drake might merit condemnation; but, considering the above stated circumstances, your condemnation of it, and your clearly implied censure not only of his employers, but of the whole British government, the monarch included, come before the world with a very bad grace.—I am, Sir, your, &c. &c. &c.—WM. COBBETT.

JAMAICA DISPUTE.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA.

27th February 1803. Extract of a Letter,



ter, were communicated to the House of Assembly of the Island of Jamaica on the 29th of November, 1803, by his Honour Lieutenant Governor GEORGE NUGENT.

MR. SPEAKER,—I am commanded by the Lieutenant-Governor to lay before the Assembly, an extract of a letter from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, dated Downing Street, September 6th, 1802, which his Honour hopes that the House will take into their most serious consideration.—The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that the loyalty, justice, and liberality of the Assembly of Jamaica will not be less conspicuous at this eventful period, in contributing to the maintenance of a part of their military establishment, than upon former occasions, and particularly when they have maturely considered the absolute necessity of the establishment of a regular force in the island, much above the numbers usually stationed therein, the impolicy of relying wholly on a naval force for their protection being self-evident.—His Honour cannot but express a hope, that at a time when all classes of his Majesty's subjects are called upon to contribute, in a most unprecedented manner, to the exigencies of the public service, the inhabitants of Jamaica will not be the last to step forward to prove their patriotism and determination to stand or fall with the mother-country, by contributing their full proportion to the support of the Empire.

Extract of the Letter referred to in the above Message.

I have had the honour of laying before his Majesty your letter of the 10th of July, with the printed copy of the proceedings of the Assembly of Jamaica that accompanied it, and I have the King's commands to acquaint you that his Majesty sees, in those communications, additional reason to approve the zeal which has distinguished your public conduct.—The principle upon which the island of Jamaica was called upon to contribute, in a greater degree than it had hitherto done, towards the expense of its own protection, has been so fully stated in my former dispatches that it appears unnecessary, at this time, to enter further into the discussion of it.—If his Majesty's subjects residing in the island of Jamaica did contribute their full proportion to the general expenses of the empire, there might be some ground to support the argument that has been urged against their making a separate provision for defraying the expense of the land force that may be stationed for the protection of the island; but as such an argument, dispassionately examined, will be found wholly untenable, it is

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to be hoped that a reconsideration of the principle, upon which your proposition was made to the Assembly, will lead to a more satisfactory result, and that the decision will rather be governed by the means of providing the supply, than by arguments that bespeak less liberality than might have been expected from the island of Jamaica.—I cannot therefore but entertain a hope, that when the Assembly shall meet again, an opinion will be found to prevail in favour of a measure, the adoption of which would be so well calculated to strengthen the relation which unites the interests of Jamaica with the parent state.—Upon reference to the abstract of the correspondence between his Majesty's ministers and your predecessors, of which I sent you a copy with my dispatch of the 4th February last, you will find that when the Assembly applied to Government, in November, 1791, to augment the four regiments which were then stationed at Jamaica from four hundred to seven hundred each, and to add a regiment of light dragoons, it was expressly stated by the Secretary of State, in his answer to Lord Effingham, that as the establishment on the island was then nearly double the strength that had usually, in time of peace, been thought necessary for its protection, it would be expected that the island should make provision for any augmentation, which, from local circumstances or considerations of interior policy, the Assembly might wish to have; and, with this explanation, measures were immediately taken by Government for sending to Jamaica three regiments and the 20th light dragoons.—I have adverted to this circumstance, as an instance of the sense which his Majesty's servants at that time entertained of the propriety of calling upon the Legislature of Jamaica, to make provision for the expense of the augmented military establishment, which they applied to have stationed for the protection of the island.—Similar considerations operated at a late period, and produced the arrangement by which the Assembly engaged to pay two thousand men, under an assurance that black troops should not be employed on the island of Jamaica: When circumstances afterwards compelled his Majesty's ministers, in the prosecution of a war which called for the application of every resource, to introduce black troops into Jamaica, they adopted that measure under an express declaration that they considered the Assembly as no longer bound to their engagement for the pay of two thousand men, and from that period the provision for this service has been made from hence, thereby dissolving the compact

that had been entered into, and not violating it, as has been inadvertently stated by the Assembly.—The events which have lately taken place at St. Domingo; the reduction in the army on that island; and the return of the French naval force from that station to Europe, have all contributed to render it probable that it may not be found necessary to retain so large a military establishment in the island of Jamaica, as was thought expedient some months ago; and I have his Majesty's commands to direct that you should not apply to the Assembly for a larger contribution than may be requisite for the pay and subsistence of three thousand men; and, as the 20th dragoons have been removed, the expense to be borne by the island would in fact be brought under the amount at which it would have stood upon the arrangement of 1798, when they agreed to maintain two thousand infantry and the 20th light dragoons. It is not, however, intended so to limit the protection that may be required for the security of Jamaica, but to express his Majesty's pleasure, upon a full consideration of all circumstances, that the island shall not be called upon for a larger contribution than that which has been stated.—Under a full persuasion that the concurrence of the Assembly will be obtained, to the extent of the contribution now proposed, you are authorised to accede to their wishes upon the subject of the 2d West India regiment; but if, contrary to the reasonable expectations of his Majesty's Government, the Assembly should not concur even to that extent, the intention of removing the black troops must be laid aside.

The following Answer to the above Message and Extract was reported, on the 15th December, from the Select Committee appointed for that purpose, and unanimously agreed to by the House.

“That it be recommended to the House to send a message to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, in answer to his first message of the 29th day of November, accompanied by an extract of a letter from the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, dated September 6th, 1802, to inform his Honour that the House have given the fullest and most mature consideration to the application, contained in the said communications, for a permanent contribution, from this island, of what shall be requisite for the British pay to 3000 troops, in addition to the usual pay and subsistence for which the faith of the country is pledged; and have paid the greatest attention to the reasons for making such application, which his Honour has been pleased

to submit to the House in his message, and the communications therein referred to. — That the House have to observe, with the utmost regret, that, from the date of Lord Hobart's letter, and the previous dispatches alluded to, it appears that whilst measures were adopted, to relieve the inhabitants of the Mother-Country from the pressure of the heaviest taxes, after the termination of a long and expensive war, his Majesty's loyal subjects in this island, in place of participating in the general blessings of peace, were to be called on for augmented and unusual contributions, grievous in their amount, oppressive in their principle. — That the House feel it their duty explicitly to represent, that they never can relinquish or compromise that principle, by which their constituents claim an equal right, to external protection and internal security, with his Majesty's subjects resident in the Mother-Country, by means of the united force, and at the common expense of the Empire; nor can they agree to the assertion, that the inhabitants and proprietors of this island do not contribute their full proportion to the general expense. — That the House admit, that when the peculiar circumstances of the West-India Islands obliged the Assembly, in November, 1791, to apply to Government for an augmentation of the forces stationed here, his Majesty's then ministers took advantage of the dangers and apprehension of the inhabitants, to propose conditions before unheard of 'that the island should take upon itself the expense of any addition to the usual peace establishment which should be thought necessary, from local causes or circumstances of internal policy.' Although this proposal was far short of the measure now applied for, and was supported by the consideration, that the very circumstances which created the danger, afforded to the colony means of supporting the expense, from the increased demand and enhanced price of its staples; yet the Assembly, in a message to his Honour the then Lieutenant Governor, declared it inadmissible, and, in an humble address transmitted to his Majesty on the same occasion, asserted their title to equal protection, which they claimed as a right most valuable, and not to be given up: — That the House also admit, that in the year 1797 the same ministers, having introduced into this colony a body of armed black slaves, in direct opposition to the sentiments of the people, and the remonstrances of their representatives, to the imminent hazard of eradicating those opinions, and subverting that local policy, on which the authority of the white inhabitants is founded, and has been supported more effi-

caciously than by superior force, the Assembly were obliged, by imperious necessity, to submit to a deviation from the constitutional principle they had ever asserted, and to propose a substitute for these armed slaves, which involved a considerable expense, falling exclusively on the island, but still very different from the proposition now made, and having for a basis the prospect of augmenting the white population, and compensating the immediate expenditure, by adding to the future security of the country: — That the year 1798, when the arrangement for this substitution was concluded, was a season of great prosperity, when all our staples were selling at a very high price, and the Assembly might flatter themselves with being able to raise the funds necessary, without inconvenience, as they could not be expected to foresee the ruinous measures adopted by the minister the following year: — That the House have the deepest concern in being obliged to represent what cannot indeed have escaped his Honour's observation, although it seems to be altogether unknown to his Majesty's ministers, that the resident inhabitants of this island are in circumstances the very reverse of those which existed in 1791 and 1798 and cannot raise the taxes, which have become necessary for the common contingencies of government, but with the utmost difficulty: — That this distress began in the year 1799, when an impolitic attempt to make the foreign consumer of West India produce pay British duties, occasioned such a stagnation or diversion of the trade into other channels, that the consumption and demand in the markets of Great-Britain bore no proportion to the quantity imported: The depression of price which soon took place left nothing for the planter, after paying the heavy duties and charges on his commodity: — That, although the effect of this improvident measure was immediate, the alteration which was expected, when the evil was admitted and a remedy applied, by restoring the drawback and bounty, has been slow and fluctuating; our agriculture and commerce never have recovered from this shock, nor have our staples obtained a fair and equal price; without entering into minute calculations, the house can appeal to the notoriety of the fact, when they aver that in place of contributing only a share of the general expenses of the empire, in the proportion of their net revenue, the sugar-planters of this island have, for the last four years, had nearly their whole income torn from them, by duties which cannot even be alleged to fall on the consumer, when no-

thing is left to the grower for labour or capital.—That the late addition of new and unequal imposts; the annulling those laws which gave a decided and just preference to the produce of the British colonies in the markets of the mother country; the adopting regulations, tending to encourage the transfer of British capital, for the cultivation of sugar in the East-Indies, whilst the consumption is already unequal to the growth of the old colonies, deprive us of all prospect of any favourable alteration, and create the most serious alarm that the ruin of these colonies will be consummated, whilst its approach does not seem even to be suspected by the framers of such laws and regulations.—That the expense of carrying on plantations in the West-India Islands, augmented lately by many local causes, increased directly by every impost on the British manufacturer, and directly by duties levied on the exports for our use and consumption, leave no room for fair competition with those who shall embark in the cultivation of sugar in the East-Indies, unfettered by these disadvantages, and with power to send their produce, direct to any market, in foreign vessels:—That this expense has been greatly enhanced by the restrictions on our intercourse with the United States of North America, not only without benefit to the mother country, but to her manifest injury when viewed in all their consequences: that the articles supplied are of prime and indispensable necessity is admitted; that they cannot be furnished by the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, or any dependency of the Empire, is evinced by twenty years experience; that they cannot be transported in British bottoms, at least during war, is equally evident; yet the planters of this island are restrained from paying for what they cannot forego, by bartering a small part of the commodities they possess, and are drained of the specie wanted for common circulation, and of large quantities of bullion, which would centre in Great-Britain; whilst the cultivation of their staples is cramped, and the quantity of what would be sent to the mother country, in more favourable circumstances, most probably diminished:—That in a period of distress and difficulty, brought on and prolonged by causes of such unusual magnitude and duration, the taxes raised within the island have been beyond former precedent, from the pressure of a heavy debt, but more particularly from the increased expenses of our military establishment:—That, in the years 1776 and 1777, the pay and subsist-

ence of his Majesty's troops, on the island establishment, cost this country 18,750*l.* per annum:—That, in the years 1781, 1782, and 1783 (when on an average there were on the establishment 2898 persons, exclusive of officers), the total annual expense amounted to 44,446*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*:—That, in the session of 1802, the sum paid and provided for one year's expense of the troops and barracks, on the island establishment, was 189,199*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* exclusive of a grant to his Excellency the Commander in Chief for 20,000*l.* being more than ten times the charge at the commencement of the American war, and upwards of four times the annual expense in the last years of that unfortunate contest, when the number actually provided for differed little from the present establishment, and all kinds of provisions and means of subsistence were at very advanced prices:—That there is no reason to believe that the expenses of the army and barrack department, to be provided for the ensuing year, can be reduced below those of the present, which alone are equal to what could be raised by a poll tax of 13*s.* annually:—That the house, without meaning to wave or compromise the right of their constituents to equal protection with their fellow subjects, have thought it material to recapitulate some of the reasons which justified the former decision of the House of Assembly alluded to by Lord Hobart's letter:—That these reasons, for inducing a similar determination on the present occasion, continue in full force: a more detailed exposition of them would evince, that little of that disposition, and none of those measures (which his lordship is pleased to recommend to us, as calculated to strengthen the relation which unites the interest of Jamaica with that of the parent state), have been manifested or adopted on her part: it would assuredly demonstrate too clearly, the present distressed state of this colony, and that the house had not come to the resolution of refusing the contribution applied for, but on full consideration of the means they possess, and a perfect conviction of the impracticability of raising the supply required:—That the house, anxious to cultivate this disposition, forbear from commenting on the doctrine of dissolving a compact at the pleasure of one of the contracting parties, although destructive of all public confidence, and most alarming to the weaker side; and lament that their duty compels them to express their surprise and concern that his Majesty's present ministers, whose moderation and respect for the constitution have been the subject of deserved eulogy,

should direct to be submitted to the representatives of the loyal inhabitants of this island, a proposition of the highest importance to their constituents and their prosperity, not to be discussed on its own merits, not to be rejected or acceded to after weighing its effects and consequences on our constitution, and in our actual situation, but accompanied by a threat, that if the deliberate and unbiassed voice of this house declared it inadmissible, we must expect that a body of regimented slaves, introduced in opposition to the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants, and the collected voice of all who are interested in the welfare of this island, shall be continued in its bosom, the object of universal abhorrence; a singular monument of pertinacity in speculative opinions, in opposition to practical and sober experience; a body, contemptible as the means of protection, formidable only in the danger of its example, and as an instance of an armed force kept up in the colony, after it has been declared dangerous and unconstitutional by the representatives of the people.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

[The proceedings on this subject are here continued from the preceding sheet, p. 750.]

Decree passed by the Tribunal on the 3d of May, 1804, and carried up to the Conservative Senate on the 4th of May.

“The Tribunal considering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power;—That the family of the Bourbons having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government;—That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from these trials only the miseries of anarchy;—That the state was in the greatest peril, when Buonaparté, brought back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation;—That under the government of a single individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest degree of consideration and glory;—That the plots formed by the House of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the danger which threatens

it, if losing Buonaparté she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from an election.—That the Consulship for life, and the power granted to the First Consul of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the prevention of intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power:—That in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity is observed at once to the example of all great states, ancient or modern, and to the first wish of the nation expressed in 1789;—That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides;—That in all political changes it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety;—That when France demands for her security a hereditary chief, her gratitude and affection call on Buonaparté;—That France will preserve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for their safety, as the old one would be for their destruction;—That France may expect from the family of Buonaparté more than from any other the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the people which chose them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them;—That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Buonaparté, and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

The Tribunal, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, have come to the following vote:—That Napoleon Buonaparté, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic;—That the title of Emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture;—That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people shall be preserved in all their integrity.—This vote shall be presented to the senate by six orators, who shall explain the views of the Tribunal.—The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the President of the Tribunal, it was carried by acclamation with the single exception of the only member who delivered his sentiments against its adoption. Citizen Jard Pauvilliers, was named First Orator to present, the following day, the vote of the Tribunal. The other five ora-

tors who were to accompany him, were chosen by lot.

Speech of the Vice-President of the Senate, upon the presenting of the Decree.

Citizens Tribunes, this day will form a remarkable æra. It is the day on which you are called on, for the first time, to exercise with the Conservative Senate, the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of the constitution have delegated to you. You could not exercise this prerogative at a more favourable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the present. Citizen Tribunes, you express to the trustees of the national rights a wish truly national. I cannot remove the veil which conceals for a time the labours of the Senate on this important subject. I must inform you, however, in the mean time, that since the 6th Germinal (March 27) the Senate has directed the attention of the First Magistrate to the same subject. The Senate had previously sounded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But you will find your advantages and privileges, when you observe that what we have been thinking of in silence for two months, the peculiar nature of your institution, and the place you hold in the constitution has enabled you at once to submit to discussion in presence of the people. You have served at once the people and the government, by disclosing and enforcing this opinion, pregnant with so many advantages, and at first secretly cherished in the bosom of this assembly, where you have now so gloriously reported it. The happy developement which you have given this great idea, procures to the Senate, which opened the Tribune to you, the satisfaction of being able to congratulate themselves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public speeches we have found the basis of our opinions. Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we do not wish the return of the Bourbons; because we do not wish a counter-revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from those unfortunate exiles who have carried with them despotism, nobility, feudal tyranny, slavery, and ignorance, and who, still to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope, that a return to France might be found by the way of England.—Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wish to raise a new dynasty, because we wish to secure to the French people all their rights which they have reconquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them. Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wish liberty, equality, and

knowledge, may no more have a retrograde motion. I do not speak of the great man called upon by his glory, to give his name to the age in which he lives and who ought to be called on by our wishes to consecrate to us his family and existence. It is not to himself, it is not to us that he ought to devote himself.—What you propose in the ardour of enthusiasm the Senate will consider with cool deliberation.—Citizen Tribunes, we are the corner stone of the social edifice; but it is the government of an hereditary chief that must constitute the key stone of the arch. You repose in your bosom the wish, that this arch may be at last consolidated. In receiving this wish the Senate does not forget that what you solicit is not so much a change of the state of the republic as a means of perfecting and establishing it, and this certainly is what we are most interested in. In this national temple the constitution ought to repose in some measure on the God Terminus. If we are induced to interfere in any respect with this sacred compact, the guardianship of which is entrusted to us, it is only to add to its strength and to extend its duration.

Message from the First Consul to the Conservative Senate, dated St. Cloud, 25th April, 1804, in Answer to an Address from the Senate, dated March 27th, 1804, which Address contained a Proposition for making him Emperor.

“Senators;—Your address of the 6th last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts. It has been the object of my most constant meditation.—You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even appears to you, that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee they are in want of.—We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for its interest, its happiness, and its glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme Magistracy, the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Electoral Body, the Electoral Colleges, and the different branches of the Administration, are and ought to be instituted.—In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the

verity of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas.—I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts.—The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which it has surrounded me, but the most sacred duty for me, as it is the dearest to my heart, is to secure to its latest posterity those advantages which it has acquired by a revolution that has cost it so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights.—I desire that I might declare to you, on the 14th July, in the present year. Fifteen years have past since, by a spontaneous movement you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every tempest, they are preserved to you and to your children: institutions conceived and began in the midst of the storms of interior and exterior wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the noise of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness.

Reply of the Senate, dated 4th May, 1804, and signed by the Vice-President and Secretaries, FRANÇOIS (de Neufchateau) Vice-President; MORARD DE GALLES and JOSEPH CORNUDET, Secretaries, and the Chancellor of the Senate, LA PLACE

"Citizen First Consul,—You have, by a memorable message, just replied in a manner worthy of you, and of the great nation which has appointed you its chief, to the wishes which the Senate expressed to you, and to the solitudes inspired in it by the love of the country. You desire, Citizen First Consul, to become acquainted with the opinion of the Senate, concerning those institutions of ours which we conceive should be improved, in order henceforth to secure the triumph of equality and public liberty, and to present to the nation and to the government, the double guarantee of which they are in want.—The Senate have assembled together, and carefully compared the results of the meditations of its members, the fruits of their experience, the effects of the zeal with which they are animated for the prosperity of the people, whose

rights they are appointed to protect.—Having recalled the past, examined the present, and cast its looks towards the future, it now presents to you the wish imposed on it by the safety of the state.—The French have conquered liberty; they wish to preserve their conquest; they wish to enjoy repose after their victory.—For this glorious repose they will be indebted to the hereditary government of a single individual, who, elevated above all, invested with great power, surrounded by splendour, glory, and majesty, will defend public liberty, maintain equality, and lower his fasces before the sovereign will of the people who proclaim him.—It is this government which the French nation wished to give itself in the happy days of the year 1789, the recollection of which will be for ever dear to the friends of the country, whom the noble enthusiasm which the image alone of this government created, was involuntarily shared even by those whose interests were hurt by the revolution, and against which a perfidious foreigner dared to lift up from afar his parricide hands, and in which the experience of ages, the reason of statesmen, the genius of philosophy, and the love of humanity, inspired the representatives whom the nation had chosen.—It is this government, limited by the law which the greatest genius of Greece, the most celebrated orator of Rome, and the greatest statesmen of the 18th century, declared to be the best of all.—It is that alone which can put an end to dangerous rivalities in a country covered with numerous armies, and commanded by great captains.—History holds it up as an invincible obstacle to all the rash efforts of a bloody anarchy, the violence of an audacious tyranny which believed itself to be absolved by strength, and to the perfidious attempts of a despotism still more dangerous, which spreading in darkness its formidable nets, waited with hypocritical patience for the moment to throw off the mask, and to lift up the shaft of iron.—It declares to a brave and generous nation—"You have lost your independence, your liberty, and your name, because you would not renounce electing a supreme chief."—It unveils that long sequel of tumults, dissensions, and civil discords, which have preceded or followed those periods when nations elected a new chief; happy, when not condemned to the shame still more insupportable than death, of receiving a foreign power, conqueror or corruptor, a contemptible chief, cowardly enslaved, or basely perfidious.—It bids us to regard the city of the Cæsars, the capital of the world, a prey to all the

disorders, crimes, and furies, which the gold, the sword, and the poison of the competitors for the empire could create, until an hereditary power replaced a monstrous assemblage of contested elections, ludicrous sanctions, uncertain decisions, unacknowledged adoptions, and despised acclamations.—After the fifteen ages which have elapsed since the year 1789, after all the catastrophes which have succeeded each other; after the numberless dangers which have surrounded the social body, and when we saw the abyss opened, into which they seemed resolved to cast it, before the saviour of France was restored to us, what other government than that of a single individual, regulated by the law for the happiness of all, and confided to a family whose destiny is inseparable from that of the revolution, could protect the fortune of so great a number of citizens, become holders of landed property, which a counter revolution would snatch from them, guarantee the heads of Frenchmen who have never ceased to be faithful to the sovereign people, and even defend the existence of those, who misled in the beginning of our political torments, have claimed and obtained the indulgence of their country.—What other ægis than that government, can for ever repel those execrable plots, which reproducing themselves under every form, setting every spring at work, one day overturned and the next reappearing, might at length finish by tiring out fortune; and to which were devoted those blind zealots, who in their guilty delirium, conceive they have means once more to erect for a family whom the people have proscribed, a throne composed only of feudal trophies, and instruments of servitude, which the national thunder has reduced to dust.—What other government in short can for ever preserve that acquisition so dear to a generous nation, those palms of genius, and those laurels of victory, which the enemies of France would with sacrilegious hands snatch from her august brow!—This hereditary government can only be confided to Napoleon Buonaparté and his family.—Glory, gratitude, love, reason, the interest of the state, all proclaim Napoleon Buonaparté hereditary Emperor.—But, Citizen First Consul, the benefit of our social pact ought to endure, if possible, as long as your renown.—We ought to ensure the happiness, and guarantee the rights of generations to come.—The imperial government ought to be unshaken. Let not the forgetfulness of precautions called for by wisdom, suffer the storms of an ill organized regency, succeed

the tempest of an elective government.—Liberty and equality must be held sacred, the social pact must not be violated; the sovereignty of the people must be acknowledged, in order that at the most distant times the nation may not be forced again to seize its power, and avenge its outraged majesty.—The Senate is of opinion, Citizen First Consul, that it is for the dearest interests of the French people, to confide the government of the republic to Napoleon Buonaparté, hereditary Emperor.—It develops in the memorial which it annexes to its message, the dispositions which appear to it the most proper to give to our institutions the necessary force to guarantee to the nation its dearest rights, by securing the independence of the great authorities, the free and enlightened vote of impost, the security of prosperity, the liberty of individuals, of the press, and of elections; the responsibility of ministers, and the inviolability of the constitutional laws.—These tutelary dispositions, Citizen First Consul, will completely shelter the French people from the plots of their enemies, and from those agitations which take their rise from ambitious rivals, they will maintain the reign of the law, of liberty and equality.—The love of the French for your person, transmitted to your successors with the immortal glory of your name, will for ever connect the rights of the nation, with the power of the prince.—The social pact will brave time.—The republic, as immutable as its vast territory, will behold political tempests gather round it in vain.—To shake it the whole world must be shaken, and posterity in calling to recollection the prodigies brought about by your genius, will continually behold erect that immense monument of every thing for which the country will be indebted to you."

The following are Addresses, upon the same Subject, from a Part of the Army, and from the City of Paris, being a Specimen of the numerous Addresses, which have been sent by all the Departments, the Armies, and the principal Cities.

Address of the first division of the Camp at Ostend, dated 29th of April, 1804.

General First Consul,—A cry has been heard in the army!!—That cry is echoed in every heart.—The soldiers of the 1st division of the camp at Bruges, sensible of the dangers which you have encountered alone, in the common cause; more sensible still of the benefits which they have derived from you, are eager to decree to you a title august and worthy of you.—

You are already their chief and their father, but these titles are not sufficient to express either their enthusiasm or their love. — Let, then, that of Emperor teach the world, that France has known how to express her gratitude for all that you have done for her! — Yet a painful recollection mingles itself with our hopes. Already have the poignards of the enemy more than once threatened your destiny, to which that of so many others is attached. — France was on the point of being annihilated in your person! Let her survive in your illustrious family! And let posterity know what your great actions have been, and what has been our gratitude. — The organ of a part of your troops, I am happy in having it in my power to express to you their sentiments. — Deign to accept, General First Consul, the testimonies of love and of respect of the first division, and of mine. — (Signed) — The General of Division, OUDINOT. — [Then follow the signatures of the generals and officers of the staff, and of the officers and soldiers of the five regiments which compose the division.]

Address of the Municipal Body of Paris, dated 30th April, 1804.

To-day, Citizen First Consul, all France expresses the same wishes we expressed two years ago. To-day all France, happy under your government, conjures you to eternise the benefit of it. — Do not forget it, Citizen First Consul: in 1789, France, without doubt, demanded a revolution; but she demanded it in the maxims of her government, and not in the unity which constituted her essence. — The French, then free, in the choice of their deputies to the states general, free in the expression of their sentiments and wishes, expressly demanded that all the citizens, equal in rights, should be admissible, without distinction of rank and birth, to all the public functions. They demanded that the power of exercising arbitrary acts should no longer reside any where, and that no citizen might be condemned without having been tried. They demanded liberty of conscience, or rather the free exercise of all forms of divine worship. They demanded that the representatives of the nation should be called to deliberate upon the public burdens. They demanded, in fine, as a guarantee of all the rights they invoked the restitution of, that the executive power should remain confided to the hands of a single person, and that this power should be hereditary. — What the French demanded in 1789, they again demand to-day. They earnestly demand it. A long experience has

too fully convinced them that whatever has been done, or tried, beyond their first wishes, commanded perhaps by circumstances stronger than men, cannot constitute either the duration, the force, or the happiness of a great empire. — We shall not, Citizen First Consul, point out the mode it would be most suitable to adopt for the accomplishment of our wish. We trust, in this respect, to the wisdom of the first authority of the state, and to your own wisdom. — But let us be fearful of dissembling the truth to ourselves. The moments are pressing. Our implacable enemies are observing us. We know what frightful projects they have shewn themselves capable of! They will never cease meditating our ruin before strong, generous, and lasting institutions will have convinced them that our ruin is impossible. — Signed the Twelve Mayors, the Twenty four Assistant Mayors, the Five Members of the Council of Prefecture, the Prefect and the Secretary-General.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Note delivered by the Minister Resident of Russia, Mr. Kluppell, to Baron D'Albini, and communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 6th of May, 1804. — It was dated at Ratisbon on the 5th of May, and signed, DE KLUPPELL.

The event which has taken place in the states of his Highness the Elector of Baden; the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His Imperial Majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself. — It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the Diet to the serious consequences to which the German Empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole Empire, and each of its members must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition.

Moved by these considerations, and in quality of guarantee of the Constitution of the Germanic Empire, and that of mediator, the Emperor considers it as his duty solemnly to protest against an action which is such an attack on the tranquillity and security of Germany. Justly alarmed at the mournful prospect it presents, his Majesty made no delay to represent his manner of thinking on the subject to the First Consul, by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris.—While his Majesty adopts a measure prescribed to him by his solicitude for the welfare of the German Empire, he is convinced that the Diet and the Head of the Empire will do justice to his disinterested, and manifestly indispensable care; and that they will unite their endeavours with his, to transmit their just remonstrances to the French Government, to prevail on it to take such steps and measures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future security may render necessary.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Message from the First Consul of France to the Conservative Senate, dated St. Cloud, 18th of April, 1804, relative to his Brother Joseph Buonaparté.

SENATORS—The Senator Joseph Buonaparté, grand officer of the Legion of Honour, has expressed to me his desire of sharing the perils of the army encamped upon the coast of Boulogne, in order to partake in its glory.—I have thought that it was for the good of the state, and the Senate would see with pleasure that, after having rendered to the republic important services by the solidity of his counsels, in circumstances the most grave, by the knowledge, skill, and wisdom he displayed in the successive negotiations of the treaty of Monson-taine, which terminated our differences with the United States of America; of that of Luneville, which pacified the Continent; and subsequently of that of Amiens, which had re-established peace between France and England, the Senator Joseph Buonaparté should be placed in a situation to contribute to the vengeance which the French people promise themselves for the violation of that last treaty, and should be enabled to acquire additional titles to the esteem of the nation.—Having already served under my eyes in the first campaigns of the war, and given proofs of his courage and his disposition for the profession of arms in the rank of chief of battalion, I have nominated him Colonel Commandant of the 4th regiment of the line, one of the most distinguished corps of the army, and which is numbered amongst those

which, always placed in the most perilous post, have never lost their colours, and have very often brought back or decided the victory.—I desire in consequence, that the Senate accede to the demand which the Senator Joseph Buonaparté will make, to be permitted to absent himself from its deliberations during the time the occupations of the war may detain him at the army.

*St. Petersburg, May 1.—A Copy of the following Rescript of his Imperial Majesty to Count Marcaff, Counsellor of State, dated February 15, was read in the Directing Senate by Prince Peter Wassilievitch-Lapuchin: Rescript.—Count Arkadi Ivanovitsh—*Since I recalled you from your post at Paris, where you discharged your duty with the greatest zeal, and to my entire satisfaction, it is very agreeable to me to have found your conduct there consistent with propriety, and to renew my thanks to you for it, as well as for the exertions you have made to promote my advantage. As I wish to give you a new proof of my satisfaction, I have ordered, till an opportunity occurs of rewarding you according to your merit, that you shall receive yearly from the revenue of the post office 12,000 roubles, and that 12,000 roubles shall be paid to you from the Treasury to indemnify you for the expences of your return from Paris.—This salary you will receive from the day of your arrival in Russia in the quality of a Minister in the College of Foreign Affairs.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.—The Note from the Russian Minister to the Diet of Ratisbon, which will be found in a former page of this sheet, seems to indicate a determination on the part of the Emperor, to take part, in some way or other, in the present contest. It is stated, too, in the foreign newspapers, that an army of 200,000 Russians are ready to march into Germany; that there is an alliance formed, offensive and defensive, between Russia, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden; that England is about to accede to it; and, that the object, is, to carry on a war against Buonaparté, for the openly avowed purpose of re-instating the House of Bourbon on the throne of France, against the usurping of which by the Buonaparté's Louis the XVIIIth is now formally to protest. Such certainly would be a most generous and noble ground of warfare; and, it is to be feared, far too generous and noble to exist any where but in the imagination of those, who know little of some of the parties to this supposed league; for, as to Mr. Pitt,

it would be supposing a miracle to have been wrought on him, to hope that he will ever become a party to a combination for such a purpose, he who has, over and over again, declared, that the restoring of the Bourbons to their rights, was not his object in the last war. It was, indeed, his *opinion*, he said, that the restoration of that Royal House to the throne of France would be the *likeliest* way of securing the liberties of Europe; but, if he could secure the *interests of England* without it, he would not continue the war an hour longer for the sake of that restoration. In Russia a court mourning has taken place for the Duke D'Enghuën. No such mark of attachment to the cause of the Bourbons has been given here; and, indeed, it will be matter of great surprise, if Mr. Pitt should ever join in a war for such an object.—Besides, how is Austria to go to war, without the aid of British money? And, where is that British money to come from? Is it to be raised by another Imperial Loan, of which we annually pay the interest from out of the taxes laid upon us? To send subsidies abroad, to any considerable amount, while we have to sustain the present load of debt, is utterly impossible, without greatly accelerating the total annihilation of the public funds, and, of course, producing a temporary suspension of trade, commerce, and public credit. This suspension would, in time of peace, be got over by a wise and firm administration; but, it would be a very serious thing to happen in time of war. Soldiers and sailors *must* have their pay, and the poor must and *will* have bread. England is, in consequence of her intolerable load of debt, absolutely incapable of making great advances of money any longer: so much has been swallowed up in the wars for the East and West-Indies, that there is nothing left for the purpose of carrying on a war for these little Islands, in which we live. In short, if we continue to pay the Jews, the Emperor of Germany must march his armies at his own expense. That he will not do so is pretty certain: indeed, it is pretty certain, that he *cannot*; and, as the league, without Austria, would be perfectly inefficient, there appears, as yet, to be no reason to believe, that the Continent will afford a diversion sufficient to weaken, in any considerable degree, the efforts which Buonaparté is preparing to make against this kingdom. A contrary opinion does, however, seem to prevail. This is a very dangerous opinion; and, as it appears to have arisen principally from a paragraph published in the French Official Gazette, the *Moniteur*, of the 3d instant, it

is necessary to insert that paragraph here, and to examine a little into the inference that has been drawn from it:—"We agree perfectly with the English, that, let the expedition once sail, and the question will be decided for ever. We must add, however, that we do not understand this assertion in the same sense in which they employ it. We cannot but deplore the fate of a country which the faults of its government have placed in a situation so critical. We do not do less justice to the energy and the honourable feelings of those who are anxious to defend their country. The people do their duty in endeavouring to place themselves out of the reach of invasion. We do ours in seeking to conquer peace, and a portion of the patrimony of the seas, of which the unbridled ambition of the English government wishes to deprive us.—Absolute masters of the commerce of the world, their ships cover both the Indian and American seas. They wish further, by the unjust possession of Malta, at once to expel us from the commerce of the Mediterranean. That is not in their power. They who grasp at too much risk all. We are also a populous nation. We have a vast extent of coast, numerous sailors, a great deal of wood, and a large share of money. What, then, is that mad ambition which wishes to deprive us even of the commerce of the Levant, which our ancestors from time immemorial have enjoyed? They very uselessly keep six thousand men on the rock of Malta, which, *happen what may, they never shall retain*. They are on the point of losing Ceylon for want of a sufficient number of troops to defend it. Of the two nations, which is that whose ambition knows no reasonable bounds? Is it the nation which by treaty cedes the Islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, and consolidates the English power in the Indies, in China and America, or that which wishes to shut us out of all the ports of the Levant? The English government deceives the people in the grossest manner respecting all that is done, or that passes in France. They carry this so far as to tell the people that certain intelligence has been received of the troops at Boulogne having mutinied, that the half of the garrison at Paris have revolted, that the Parisians have shewn a disposition to insurrection, because they were prevented from leaving their own houses after nine o'clock. All these revolts resemble Mr. Drake's rebellion in the four departments. *When we think*

"proper we will make the descent. If we were not to make it for years, our success would only be more secure."—From this paragraph it is, and particularly from the last sentence, that many persons have concluded, that the project of invasion is given over, and that the French troops will soon be withdrawn from the coast. Very premature indeed is this conclusion, and not at all warranted by the language of the *Moniteur*, which merely says, that they will make the descent when they think proper, and that, if they were to delay it for years, their success would be only the more secure. That they can make the descent *when they think proper*, is greatly to be doubted; but, that, if they can maintain their government under Buonaparté, or rather, if his present extent of authority, under whatever name, continues, there can be little hesitation in agreeing to the proposition, that, if they delay their attempt for years their success will be the more secure. Indeed, as it has already been frequently stated, if Mr. Pitt's systems are persevered in, the French need not take the trouble to invade us. They have only to remain as they are, only to continue to do precisely what they are now doing, with the addition of an expedition against Ireland as often as they can get out from Brest, and, at the end of a very few years, we must submit to them on their own terms. Observe, this is asserted only upon the supposition, that Mr. Pitt's systems will be persevered in; but, it must also be observed, that the enemy is fully persuaded, that those systems will be persevered in. To continue to pay the present annual charge on account of national debt, and, at the same time, to support the expenses of the war, at the rate of 36,000,000*l.* annually (and that is the rate at which it is taken in the last Budget) is absolutely impossible. But, the expenses will go on increasing annually: for, as the whole of the revenue will not exceed from 40 to 45 millions, and as the expenditure will be from 60 to 65 millions, there must be 20 millions raised by way of loan; and, of course, more than a million will be annually added to the charge on account of debt, which charge will, in five years from this time, amount to 30 millions annually. And, I would ask Mr. Pitt, whether he really imagines, that the war can be carried on with a mill-stone like this about our necks? There will, indeed, one advantage arise out of this increase of the interest of the debt, that is, a corresponding increase in the amount of *tax laid upon that interest!!!* Gracious God! was there ever

such a system as this before thought of in the world! Paying people their income out of the taxes, and then taxing that income! Surely a financier must be at his wits end, when he has recourse to shifts like this — No; the war cannot be carried on, if we persevere in Mr. Pitt's systems. We must give way. We must, if we do not abandon those destructive systems, yield to the enemy upon whatever terms he chooses to impose. This Buonaparte well knows; and he will act accordingly. From this knowledge it is, that his writers are led to assert, that, the longer they delay their attack, the more certain will be their success. They well know, that time is *for them and against us*; that the battle is between a youthful giant and a common man fast approaching to a state of decrepitude; a state, indeed, from which it is *possible* to restore him to youth and vigour, but in which possibility the enemy does not believe.—That Mr. Pitt will endeavour to make peace, as soon as possible, there can be but little doubt: Lord Hawkesbury seems to have been put out of the way with that view; and, as to the terms, notwithstanding the bold language of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville; notwithstanding the latter, in particular, positively declared, that he was glad the peace was at an end if for no other reason than that of our keeping Malta, which never ought again to be permitted to be even a subject of negotiation; notwithstanding all this, it would not be safe to lay a considerable sum, that these gentlemen will not make a treaty, the first article of which shall stipulate for the instantaneous surrender of Malta. Buonaparté says, that they shall not keep it; and, as one or the other must eat their words, it is more than probable, that the lot will fall to Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, who, having long been used to such diet, will submit with very little reluctance. But, if Buonaparté should not be satisfied with the surrender of Malta? Indeed he will not: he will demand that, and also a surrender of all the conquests we shall have made during this war, together, perhaps, with Ceylon and Trinidad. All this he will demand as the price of peace, of the name of peace, of a mere promise not to invade and conquer us; but, he will further demand a compensation for withdrawing his troops from Hanover, or he will keep Hanover notwithstanding his peace with Great Britain; and, he most assuredly will demand a formal renunciation of some of the maritime rights, which we have always heretofore contended for and maintained, and which are essential to our existence as an independent nation. And, now, the question to be solved is, will Mr. Pitt

make such a peace? Or, rather, will he prefer such a peace to the destruction of his system of finance? This is the question; a question, which, if Buonaparté continues to reign in France, and Mr. Pitt continues to be minister in England, will receive its dreadful solution. — After such a peace, we could not long retain, and indeed we should not long wish to retain, even the name of independence. We should most anxiously desire to become a province or a department; and, in forgetting the name of our country, endeavour to forget the disgrace thereunto attached. Yet there will be a cry for peace; and the minister will, especially when he reflects on the past, entertain but little apprehensions from the discontent that may be excited by the disgracefulness of the terms. The people will ask; indeed, they already ask, and not without reason, what is the *object* of this war? Mr. Pitt told them, that it was “to circumscribe the domination, to repress the ambition, and to chastise the insolence of the First Consul of France.” Has any of this been done? or, are we in the way to do it? Are we likely to accomplish this object by the means of an army of ballotted and small-bounty men, who receive *pay* for *voluntary* service, and who go on *permanent* duty for *seven days* in half a year? Alas! it was all talk; des phrases, as the French emphatically call it; all mere empty sound! Instead of circumscribing the domination, repressing the ambition, and chastising the insolence of Buonaparté, the moment he threatens to attack us, we call on one another to fight for our homes and our lives; we prepare to burn our houses and the produce of our harvest, lest they should fall into his hands; we fall to our prayers, and supplicate the Lord to preserve us from being swallowed up quick, and that, too, by the very man to repress whose ambition and to chastise whose insolence we began the war! The people perceive all this; and, if the postponement of the danger of invasion gives them time to revolve the matter in their minds, they will be very apt to think, that the war ought to be put an end to, an opinion which they will not be induced to forego by reflecting on their taxes and their loss of time. Will they not ask, is all this for Malta? the Island of Malta? And, if not for Malta, what is it for? Had the war been carried on upon a just principle, for a great, a defined, and rational object; or, were it now to be so carried on, and the means of the country wisely employed, the case would be very different. — But, at present, it is impossi-

ble, that the people should regard the efforts and sacrifices which they so laudably make, as having any other object than that of defending the country against invasion; and, according to the system of Mr. Pitt, this object will *never* cease to exist; for, if the French can keep us in a state of warfare without any other effort than that of encamping part of her armies upon the sea coast, and exercising a few of her soldiers in embarking and disembarking on board and from on board her flotillas; if she can, by the means of this mere sport, of which we may truly say, with the frogs in the fable, what is sport to her is death to us; if she can thus keep us in a continual state of alarm and expense, can it be believed, that she will not *always* have camps on the opposite coast? that she will not always have sporting flotillas, in peace as well as in war? — There seems, then, to be but one way of rescuing ourselves from this shameful, this truly shocking state; and that is, to cooperate, by means of both *men and money*, with such of the powers of the Continent as are willing, or may become willing to join us; but, as Mr. Pitt's finance schemes will swallow up at home every farthing of our money, at the same time that his small-bounty and permanent-duty men will be of no use in a continental war, his system must be abandoned, or we must cease to exist, as an independent people.

JAMAICA.—In the Register of the 17th of March last, p. 408, allusion was made to a message from the Lieut. Gov. of Jamaica to the House of Assembly; and the Governor's speech at proroguing the Assembly was inserted, p. 397. The message itself and the answer of the Assembly, both of which are of very great public importance, and, indeed, most pressingly call for the attention of Parliament, will be found in the present sheet, p. 771. They require to be read with care; the arguments on both sides should be duly considered; and some way should be thought for putting an end to the dispute, which has continued ever since the middle of the year, 1802, which was engendered by the imbecility and indecision of the late ministry, and which will not, it is to be feared, be easily put an end to by their successors; for, it will be perceived, that the complaints of the Assembly trace their origin to the measures and regulations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. — The former part of the dispute will be found in the Register, Vol. II. p. 254, 265, 313, and 323. — Some remarks on the points in dispute will be offered hereafter; but, the present occasion may serve for mentioning a recent

transaction relative to the expenses attending French prisoners of war, which also loudly demands the attention of Parliament. During the last session of the House of Assembly, the Governor called upon the Assembly for a sum of money (about 50,000.) for the purpose of sending French prisoners of war, from St. Domingo, off the island, stating, as the reason for this application, "that the *Admiral's instructions restrain him from hiring transport for that purpose.*" The Assembly positively refuse to comply with this request, at the same time that they discover a considerable degree of uneasiness at the prisoners of war remaining, though for a short time in the Island. There is by way of resolution, as follows: "Resolved to send a message to his Honour the Lieut. Governor, acquainting him, that, although there is great cause for apprehension and alarm in having a very large body of prisoners in the Island, yet the House cannot undertake for any part of the expense of sending prisoners of war off the Island; and the House beg leave to request, that his Honour will use all means that may be in his power, for the speedy removal from the Island of all the prisoners of war now here."—This resolution was adopted on the 21st of December last, on which same day the House agreed to lay a poll-tax of 6s. 8d. for the year 1804, upon a report of the Commissioners of Accounts of the distressed state of the finances of the colony. These commissioners stated, that, having gone through the examination of such of the collecting constables as were considered under the order of the House; and, although several of them produced arrearage-rolls of great amount (arising, in general, from the distress of their respective parishes), there are but few subject to censure, in respect to whom the Receiver General has been directed to put their bonds in suit. The taxes proposed to be raised for the ensuing year, aided by the sums that may be recovered from arrearages, scarcely afford a prospect of reducing the public debt outstanding upon interest, or even that part of it which carries eight per centum, in any other way than by raising a further sum at six per centum, if this should be found practicable. The principal of the eight per centum debt is now £166,000 and that at six per centum is £65,000.—This is a picture by no means flattering. Parliament will do well to consider what may be the consequences, unless some effectual remedy be speedily applied.

VOLUNTEER BILL.—At the commencement of the present session of Parliament,

the great object that every one had in view, was, *the improvement of our military force.* To settle the volunteer establishment on some permanent basis was a measure, which, it was thought, would admit of no delay. A bill for that purpose was brought in. After repeated and long discussions, both as to the general principle and the detail; after having been swelled to three times its original bulk; after having, in short, undergone a complete metamorphosis, it was sent from the Commons to the Lords; whence, at the close of the seventh or eighth discussion, it was, with about thirty amendments on its head, returned to the House of Commons, where it now waits for a revision; and, considering the widely differing opinions entertained on the subject, it cannot possibly become a law before a considerable further space of time will have elapsed. The volunteers are, in the mean time, in a state of perfect uncertainty as to every regulation, except that which relates to their right of resigning at pleasure, a right which was determined by the court of King's Bench, and one which a great many of them have already availed themselves of.—That some law or other upon the subject is, however, become absolutely necessary to define the rights of masters and servants or apprentices appears very evident from a transaction, which, according to a statement made by Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, has taken place in Scotland. The statement is given, in the report of the parliamentary proceedings, as follows: "Mr. Whitbread regretted the thin attendance of the House, as he had a particular case to communicate which related to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and would be a very fit subject of parliamentary investigation.—The **SPEAKER** observed, that the question was either to agree or not to agree with the amendments now read.

"Mr. WHITBREAD thought, that if penalties were to be admitted, it would be much better the House should settle those penalties than to allow that noble lord, or any other to act according to their discretion. The case he had alluded to referred to a Mr. Morison, in the County of Bamf, who had dismissed a servant in consequence of his becoming a volunteer. The servant had applied to the Lord Advocate, who told him he could give him no redress. But at the same time, his lordship had written to the deputy sheriff of the county, a letter, which was now on record, and of which he had a copy in his pocket, stating that Morison, in dismissing his servant,

“ had acted from *sedition* motives; that in the event of the French landing, he should be *immediately imprisoned*; to caution people of the county to have *no connexion with him*, and that should any of his property be destroyed, he should take care that *no indemnity should be given him*.”——This is a sort of excommunication. There remained only to give his carcase to the fowls of the air and his soul to the devil.—But, there certainly must be some mistake in all this. Mr. Whitbread's words must have been mis-reported; or, perhaps, he may have been imposed upon by some enemy of the Lord Advocate. At any rate, it is to be hoped, that the letter will be published, in order that the public may be made fully acquainted with the truth of the matter.—For my part, my readers will recollect, that, from the moment any obligatory regulations, respecting the conduct of masters towards such of their servants and apprentices as chose to become volunteers, were talked of, I foreboded the ill-blood and disturbance that would therefrom arise. It is a most delicate matter to touch upon; it involves the peace of families; it bears immediately upon those relationships between man and man, the uninterrupted existence of which is so necessary to the harmony of society. It appears to me, that masters ought to be at perfect liberty to give or refuse leave to their servants and apprentices to become volunteers; otherwise, servants and apprentices will no longer be obedient, and, indeed, they will not, in the true sense of the word, be servants and apprentices. Then, on the other hand, it will be of great injury to the servants and apprentices themselves; for, if the master is *compelled* to let them go into the volunteer corps, if he suffers thereby, either loss or inconvenience, will he not find out some way or other of retaliating upon them? There are so many ways, in which their well-being does, and always must, depend upon their master, that they must feel the effects of that resentment which will arise from a disobedience to his will; and, in cases where they do not disobey his will, any compulsory regulation is useless.—What can be the cause of Mr. Pitt's reluctance to bring forward his military plans.

NEW MINISTRY.—Upon this subject several important remarks, which present themselves, must be postponed till the next sheet.—It is rumoured, that Mr. Pitt still finds such difficulties in his way, that he is

disposed to give up his undertaking. This is, indeed, a mere *rumour*; but, the very circumstance that such an idea should get so far as into a rumour augurs ill to the duration of the new ministry. We are reminded, that when Mr. Pitt first came into power, similar rumours prevailed, and to a much greater extent; nay, that it was then confidently asserted, that he would not hold his place a month. But, there is a great difference in the times and circumstances; there is a fearful difference between the *first* and *second* time of a man's being minister, especially when his first reign has been absolute for eighteen years. Let the place-hunters ponder this well in their minds. If my opinion will be of any use to them it is at their service, and it is this: that Mr. Pitt and his scions will get over the present season so so; that they will live along through the warm weather; that they will be severely pinched in winter; and will expire under the genial efforts of the spring.—Mr. Canning is really Treasurer of the Navy! A place which the public may be assured that Mr. Tierney *refused* to keep under Mr. Pitt!

TO THE PUBLIC.

On Thursday, the 24th instant, an Information for a Libel, preferred against me by the Attorney-General, was tried, in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury, who gave a verdict of **GUILTY**. Very short and imperfect accounts of this trial have been given in the daily newspapers. In the two next Numbers of the Register the whole shall be given in a full, accurate, and impartial manner, notes having been taken for the purpose by the gentleman who conducts the **PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**. All the documents relating to the prosecution will be given in their proper place, together with a statement of many facts, with which the public are not acquainted, but of which it is now proper they should be fully informed. In the meantime, my readers may rest assured, that, so long as it pleases God to preserve to me health of body and an unimpaired mind, nothing shall, for one hour, suspend the exertions which I have hitherto made, and, I trust, not without some success, in the service of my Sovereign and my country.

WM. COBBETT.